1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family esteem the prerogatives they have received from their forbears. With the marriage of the first women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the first men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these first marriages, necessarily exogamic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry far afield and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

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L4
[773]

Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. There is no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the companionship of its deceased relatives back to the beginning of time.

[L4]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

At any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

(2) The initiation of young men or women into the *cannot* society. This includes the validation of a *cannot* name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

(3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "relieve" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

(1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can discuss by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to discuss one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of deference with which those are regarded who hold the names of the first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chiefainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

(2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

1:McDowall E-3 (1922-1924)1943
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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man cannot become a chief except through large payments made by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chanting, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

[redacted]

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the coast society, whose seat and name, though duly verified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through marriage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diversity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient time for the procedure to become stabilized between the introduction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible that the *tsetsiwam* was added to *cusk* rites from the older *o'oli* society (I, p. 975).

Whatever may have been the history of the *tsetsiwam*, it provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have appeared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, throughout his life and uses them only on ore ceremonial occasions. It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death. A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters the design before using it.

A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third, song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again sing the first song, and *cusk* members of the audience join in. Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung, time after time, until the *cusk* have thoroughly mastered them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they call X, who communicates with the *cusk* man outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard. Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in fear. At the same time some of the *cusk* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to include two on one night, though three may be accompanied. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 556 184 ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

* 556 ● 769 535 575 [533] Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.[*] The singers strike up one of the songs of a senior *nusta*, perhaps a *sisi* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *nusta* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *nusta* or *sisi* returns, and the audience, silenced by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *nusta* society. [532] If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *nusta* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of [533] which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes [532] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

[*] Although potlatches can be held without this feature.

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means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he stoops down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and retires through the front door, always attended by a number of assistants. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, and the performance is strikingly effective in the large, plank-built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience. The dogs, alone unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion, skulk to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor married. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on its chest. In such a case these three creatures have been connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is believed to have assumed these forms. Great individual choice is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commemorated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A senior assistant goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal. There, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown, [illegible]. The actual management of the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper[a] which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,[b] and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.[c] It has 'made bone for the dead.'" Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"*My* heart is glad at seeing *my* father.[d] At death he returned back on the path of *my* family's ancestors and donned *our* ancient crest. He now lives in *Nuxwit'a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests, while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents

[a] One of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly known and sold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. Their employment by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail (I, p. 402).

[b] The breaking is sometimes omitted.

[c] That is: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

[d] Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

1:McIlwraith E-9 (1922-1924)948
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are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"* and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above.

If there are many *nusuk* initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those included are going to dance, food is distributed and all disperse.

THE FESTIVAL: THIRD DAY

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(c) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of insults to the guests by excessive presents, or by the destruction of valuables.

During the Evening and Night

(a) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(g) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(s) Repayments by X of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(t) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(v) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's *nusuk*.

(x) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, *nusuk* for a number of young men.

(k) Dancing of the *nusuk* initiates.

(s) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have assisted the *nusuk* dancers.

(ss) Distribution of presents to validate the *nusuk* dances and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

*The Bella Coola state that the Kwakiutl use for this a wax or gum.

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in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at the front door of the house with an opening at its base through which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be set up and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral claims by means of paintings on the front wall of his house or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only painting. If he validates these by possession, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he can validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though it is possible that a few families had powerful motives inciting them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is very likely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even commonly so. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 46n). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes, and another in its place, when the first is pulled down or neglected.

Copper

The Bella Coola use copper for only two purposes: rarely on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the ghost has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make fire for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when copper is employed is so important that to obtain one of increase in value is a vital consideration for every chief.

Most of the copper now used by the Bella Coola are now

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.[9] There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential.

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one.

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $10, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, though in such a case the two rivals would probably agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a

[9] Abalone shells and nonphallic pre-ornamental for the same reason; the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in two or four.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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765 religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the prohibitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of a partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state that this is the case.

Memorial Rites

The Memorial Potlatch

177 552 769 [622] The most important, as well as the most complicated, mourning rite is the memorial potlatch, *skwanit*, for which so much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs alone. This ceremony, being associated with *nusuk* rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of cone-shaped whistles and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in the form of his crest. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were apparently distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' *nusuk* ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain *Nuddzis*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died, and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectation of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

[648] After a comparatively few years, the white man's domination had increased so enormously on the central coast that the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated

1:M:Howatth E-5 (1922-1924)948
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rites, the Bella Coola were again led to carry out at a single gathering features which properly belonged to several. To combine the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a return to an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kimsquit people, moreover, seem never to have adopted the clear Bella Bella differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population threw them in ever closer contact with the Bella Coola, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two ceremonials.

At the present time, a memorial potlatch is almost identical with an ordinary potlatch in practice. The same rites are often carried out at both; each varies considerably, and when the distinctive elements are omitted the two become indistinguishable. None the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, *kaw*, is taking place is called a *nastwoots*, that where a memorial potlatch, *ciwaxit*, is occurring, a *nastwoxitots*. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guests. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount.

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure, for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinsman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his imme-

1;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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diate family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is bereaved after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch. More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the *nusaé* and *a'alē* societies,[a] there is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be emphasized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and when present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *yuxila*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich, ready, fortunate,* and *reserved.*

Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the *hoxiat* season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other

[a] Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual recounting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[1] carpenters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusdalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

[1] From the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often continued.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
*556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, there-
[778] fore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukuslalal*
[609] (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

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(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to relieve her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[1] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of crest dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[1] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

mourners may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of usual features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. Among the perspectives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient traditions of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped eulachon grease worked into their hair, or with bands of the same material across their heads. *Ilquaiyas* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional perspective, known by the same name as the feminine one of wearing a drooping ear to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the members and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs on which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

of different ceremonial families to which the deceased belonged, irrespective of whether or not he had used a name from one. Being a member of the group, its songs can legally be used in his honour. Elements from different myths are often combined into one composition, corresponding to the different localities and characters which the dead person has visited in travelling back the path of his multiple ancestors to the beginning of time. If one person only is being commemorated, four songs are prepared; if several, two are used for each. These for any individual is unlucky. Two types, *chanuk* and *tinlanuk*, are in common usage, and the singers, after consultation with the donor of the ceremony, decide which shall be employed. The former describes in some detail features from one or more of the deceased's ancestral myths, mentions the journey which he has taken to visit the individuals and scenes referred to, and calls on him to assume the form of his first forefather. A common theme is to state the origin of his name, and how he loved it so greatly that he left the earth to follow it back through time and space. The following is an abbreviated version of such a song, based on the origin myth of *Kitsilas*:

"We have been unable to satisfy you here. Go whither *Kitsilas* came, and become a raven. Go to the east and get abalone shell; go to the west and get copper. They will satisfy you."

Another *chanuk* of the same type is:

"Your first ancestor circled the world with the aid of an abalone shell paddle. Do you likewise. Then will greatly you so nothing on earth could do."

On the other hand, an deathbed address refers to the ancestral history of the deceased, but to his actions during life. It records the number of slaves, canoes, and other valuables given away as potlatches,* and alludes to other praiseworthy actions. This type of mourning song, though usually used

*The analogous method of making known a man's distribution of wealth is to a whites sign over the door (see Plate 54).

only for a child, can be employed for a dead child. In this case, the dance describes the efforts of the parents to recuperate the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Dial! Accordingly [the child's] name was the last when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The texts of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten. Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the terms of *descent* and *livelihood*; in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few terms of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and ego-sense. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The texts, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of great inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the dance's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to see a song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

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such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Baile Baile *cyth* and the song in question had been used to ensure a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the name words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the funeral guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are said "to come to visit the sick [dead]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To relieve the reason of their visit, guests or a ceremonial patient always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the property of foreign guests is conducted to the dance's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allocated to them by the hosts. An elderly Baile Coola chief whom a famous orator has been asked by the dance to speak, on his rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have ceased to take their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in the mind, and how almost return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible. With constant reference to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, called *ax*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The event seems that he has fallen, using the term *yaxin*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He spoke of a young chief as *xwa'lilaxdix*, short-lived, a person on has been burned down by the supernatural Cannibals. He concludes by describing the worths of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the dance's grief, of how this "sickness" has been ele-

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viated by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is frequently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the scenes of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator, the speaker must also be a *nuxalt* chief, since it is felt that none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer to these most sacred and important subjects. During the speech, eulachon blow eagle down over the heads of all present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the speaker has finished, the hereditk call the guests to partake of it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed with olachen grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries with more olachen grease. If the guests have arrived during the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival for the early part of the afternoon.

The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs, phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the supernatural Carpenter have hunted the deceased, but reminds his hearers that this is because *Alpanitse* has decreed it, therefore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's crest, and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him. During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign chief likely to speak. This they now hear chiefs, often assisted by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their singing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a ceremonial mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he was is sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If, as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in different terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

[illegible]

mourning song is sung for him in the same way. Sometimes as many as five or six speeches are made, each followed by a song of the same type. In such circumstances it is impossible for the Bella Coola musicians to learn all the tunes, but if two or six chiefs are present, it implies the presence of a large delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is they who really learn out the tunes, assisted by their Bella Coola confrères. When the last song has been sung, the guests present their hosts with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the most valuable, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefs to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not to be returned; in fact, to do so specifically, especially soon after the receipt, would be insulting. After the distribution the evening concludes with the usual meal.

This ritual is repeated at the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again learned out after the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the hostess call out: "*Hwaiwaiwaiwaiyaqa.*"

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will take place the following morning, and the guests prepare accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests.* In such cases the preliminaries just described are, of course, omitted and the slaves call marks the commencement of the ceremony.

The next day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The mourners are in attendance, each conspicuous with the proper mark. In every case several of them carry miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal chiefs assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which

*The one probably quite common during the period when all potlatch features were omitted.

will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts the dance's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the ancestors' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that this recital will show him up. The word used for this, *nuxalaiskut*, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to lead out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the dance and its family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession to the same evening. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of ceremony from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young relatives of the dancer as successors. One of the minimum totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom the prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs as displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and re-counting. As at a potlatch, a dance speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,

[illegible]

to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example:

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of Kalala..."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which Kalala appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners considered. The goods having thus been displayed, a feast ensues, called "Tawa" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not reasonable, being the legalization of the ceremony be has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have rendered assistance; to mourn, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not closely correct, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents, when they reciprocate, they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which speeches make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were barred from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was the public congratulation of the journey taken by the deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the invited guests took the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Whatever cross-gifts were not used, for were professional mourners in evidence, the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for hearing the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

departed. A few days later the ceremonial was carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days, several weeks, depending on how much food the host was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that a pig was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate forms of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recited, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen to more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 49). An occasion is found to confront the guests to the memorial was erected, and to inform them of the significance of the sign[s] imported. This same practice has been continued via the introduction of emblazons, and the wearing of the wing upon them is unimportant. The entry of the deceased in a form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a coupon, is the one as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a sacred mourning song if one of the more elaborate ones in possession of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around in five in a wide circle, shaking his rattle and singing unaccompanied. Most, if not all of these songs, are in the Haïda Haïda language and the right to use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, he calls out:

"Listen to the chief's honors."[1]

When presents are distributed to visitors the whole ceremony, mention is always made of it different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another essential is the display of the memorial-ware. These have been carved, painted, and set up, but are seldom seen validated

[1] There is no reason why the double eagle on this is a potlatch, for as banners of the performers are used.

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by presents, and the greater the number of these, the greater the value of the memorial. Nothing need be added concerning this point, or other rites, to the detailed description given in vol. I, chap. iv.

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance to the deceased since grease burns as it reaches him, and is of service to him, but such a belief is no more than an intangible sentiment of no weight in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his own relatives should hold one, they would brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch, but chiefs have often preferred to go to jail rather than to forgo this form of memorial. The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of an old man whose only daughter, a "Chieftainess," died in 1910. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed himself to the writer, as follows:

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to bear my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are due her as a chief. If I allow her to be neglected, I would be ashamed and miserable. Jim [another "chief"] warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case, though only abbreviated rites were carried out, their performance unquestionably lessened the father's grief, a fact observed on several occasions. Not only does it comfort

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a man and manage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The one combines to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

SPECIFIC ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural growth or decline. The following description will also serve to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

On June 25, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be de-

stepson, George Nelson, had not been living with his wife for about one year.

Early in the afternoon of June 27, Captain Schooner was notified by telephone of the serious illness of his daughter at the cannery where she was working. He set out immediately, but found her dead on his arrival. Without waiting to consult Samuel Ecug, he called together the chiefs who happened to be in the vicinity, Willie Black, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Bobby, and Alexander Clahanee.[1] He informed them that he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into the ground like a dog, but that he was going to hold a memorial potlatch immediately after the funeral. Schooner, being a *sumsil chief* as well as father of the dead woman, was able to do as he liked, and no one objected to his plan, although in former times such a ceremony neither took place so soon, nor in summer. If Samuel had been present, he would have been consulted as a matter of course. It was quite fitting for Jessie to be buried by her father, since she had been her husband's children, and had been allowed several times. Moreover, Samuel lacked the determination and prestige of his father-in-law. Having settled this main point, Captain Schooner announced that as Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was on the point of death, it would be well to continue the mourning for both at the single ceremony. No mention was made of the amount to be used for the rite. Schooner himself had [illegible] to expend for the purpose which would have been sufficient, and his attitude was that he neither knew nor cared whether his relatives would assist him. Soon after the other chiefs had left, Reuben Schooner arrived from the logging camp from which he had been summoned. Further and not discussed arrangements not only for the actual interment, a simple matter, but for the memorial potlatch. It was decided that the dead woman should return as a composite figure consisting

[1] Others of these were closely related to the Schooner family.

of Eagle, Raven, and Blackbird, three of her cousins of which the males were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow* was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben assented to sing a sacred mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band* should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $50 towards the expenditure.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without hearing others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. She had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. She spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. 3, p. 475. She was grave and dignified, obviously determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary rituals, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During the summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

*He was an Anglo-Indian by his reference.

*Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Only Schooner and Snowbanks, however, is definitely known to have influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was necessary to decide when the whole was in Bella Coola.

worthy of record that his wishes were scrupulously obeyed. During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his sorrow that the union between his family and the Schramms, forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sister, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections. Samuel then addressed Captain Schramm who was favourably disposed, so it was decided that the ceremony should take place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had resided with Jessie's several years previously.

Another visitor to Captain Schramm that morning was Jim Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of one of his children who had died, Captain Schramm had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage transaction, although delayed for a number of years after the actual date of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Jim Williams, $20 to Mrs. Jim Williams, $20 to Mrs. George Nelson, $20 to her brother, $20 to Louie Charlie, and $20 to Mrs. Louie Charlie. Jim consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schramm did not ask for it, but Jim was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $120, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schramm that morning.

Jim Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to relieve the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the women had been living at isolated

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was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to purify the site with the spruce bough, which he did with a bowlful brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Nuxmit-a*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "Ye-" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Alquntam*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Qumqs* ar are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

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older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner, with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

In view of the large number of guests expected it had been decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other. About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nelsonhadenoose, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood, gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage. Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day, Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again. Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought five sacks of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and clatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and crossed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

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for the Carriers and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were taken by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby.

When everyone had eaten, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been sitting facing the other singers, beat on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and thus assuage the grief of the bereaved relatives.

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in announcing the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to relieve (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Next a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Mack, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the $100 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills

1:Mc:Dorsith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner, who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the reverse; this return was a matter that concerned the Williams family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Mack, to whom he gave $10. The latter stated that this sum, which he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being given to George Nelson to rebuy his (divorced) wife. Billy is not related to the woman, but had long been friendly and wished to share in making good the path for her children. This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of Willie Mack as announcer was made merely because he was a fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence to act fittingly.

After these preliminaries, the main rite was begun. Jim Pollard, an eloquent chief unrelated to any of the principals, spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie to visit the scenes of her ancestral myths. He was followed by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the time. In the Chinook jargon he first expressed his sympathy and respect for Captain Schooner because he was carrying out the fitting rites, then asked leave to speak in Bella Bella because he found it difficult to express himself in Chinook. He described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella Bella woman. No one paid much attention to the speeches; in fact, it was impossible at the back of the hall to hear what was said owing to the chattering and crying of children.

After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used, although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several years earlier and had merely altered the words during the morning after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral myths. The singers had learnt text and tune during the rehearsal a few hours before. It was impossible to record it in detail; in outline, it consisted of the words:

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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"Child, you are an eagle now. You are like *Xemcus*." He will provide an eagle cloak for you." 769● 556* 533

The theme was continued throughout as if Captain Schooner were speaking and lamenting his daughter. At intervals the phrase was repeated, "My child has fled home." The leader of the singers, Jim Pollard in this case, kept calling out to the audience to cry and sing, and as many of them joined in as had come in earlier to listen to the words. The whole effect was strikingly dignified and impressive.

Captain Schooner joined the singers for the second mourning song, since he alone was familiar with the details of the ancestral myth which formed the theme. In former times a bereaved parent would never have been obliged to assist in this way. Kimsquit Alec had composed the tune during the day and Billy Pollard called out the words, line by line, inviting the guests to join in. The theme consisted of instructions to Jessie: [178]

"Go," it ran, "To the mountain whither *Sril*[3] came. Thence travel to the Skeena where you will assume the form of a whale and be able to spout like one.[4] Go then to the far north where you will enter the copper house within which dwells a copper raven and where the salmon are *taitaimy*."[5]

This song was sung in the manner already described.

The third mourning song was one composed for a *Tăl-ic* chief, *Smaouzk*, who had lost his daughter during the smallpox epidemic. Its use was justifiable, as *Smaouzk* was Jessie's mother's mother's mother's brother. It had a double significance since the dead woman's mother had allowed it to be used when lamenting the death of a brother of Samuel King, a member of the same ancestral family. Captain Schooner had altered the words to make them applicable to the present situation. The theme was:

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[3] One of the first settlers of the earth, an ancestor of Jessie.

[4] Another of her first ancestors.

[5] One of Jessie's first ancestors had landed on the Skeena and there assumed the form and characteristics of a whale.

[6] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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"Please stop crying. We have made good your memory. You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smaoasɬ* where he stands among the abalone-shells far to the south."[30] Thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a *sḥāmɬsk* will serve as canoe for you."[31] You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[32]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged [292] wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *ɬsaask* society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle throughout [178] but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *ɬsaask ɬiki*. The latter [424] rose and stated how the prerogative of *ɬiki*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ao·ɬi*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

[30] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[31] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[32] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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related through their mother. After a little further discussion, Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he restored the rattle to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not asasā were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and persuading him to return. This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"*Qomatis* [Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief] is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."[a]

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

[a]Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

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expression animated, and, except for his dirty European clothing, he looked and acted like a religious dignitary taking part in an important ceremony, as was indeed the case. While he was speaking there came from without eerie notes of the large, cone-shaped whistles, combined with the yelping screams of an eagle. The effect, even on an audience which knew that these sounds were of human origin, was tremendous. Men and women stiffened in their seats and craned their necks to see what was taking place near the door. A number of the younger men had slipped away during Reuben's singing to help the masked dancer with his disguise. As some of these assistants continued to blow their whistles, others held up blankets to conceal the necessarily clumsy entrance of the performer through the narrow doorway.

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These were dropped after a moment, and out into the centre of the open hall bounded a figure covered with a large white sheet so that only his bare feet were visible. On his head was an eagle mask, from the upper part of his back projected a blackfish, while the head of a raven peered forth from his chest. The dancer, Timothy Snow, who had been chosen for his skill in such matters, leapt forward in a crouching attitude and took a few short, mincing steps as if he were a gigantic eagle hopping on the ground. At once the older Bella Coola women began to drone out, "*i*.....," and continued as long as the performer remained in the hall. He bent down and turned slowly, sunwise, with arms pressed close to his body and neck contracted, then straightened, and took a few more mincing steps, followed by another turn. In this way he moved in a wide, sunwise circle around the hall, avoiding the middle where there would have been a fire in one of the old-fashioned houses. At intervals he raised himself on his toes and slightly spread his arms beneath the sheet, at the same time looking up so that it appeared as if the eagle were rising to gaze at an object in the distance as a sitting bird does so frequently. This brought the raven mask into plain sight. After a survey of this kind, he bent down and ran a few yards more. Alec Davis and two other assist-

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lowed the scene, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistles and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away.

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handiwork of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably tinged with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this caused inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crests, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, a crest particularly, who had come to earth at *Tremad* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the *nusut* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *nusut* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *nemit* chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were initi-

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social scandal. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor to the track taken by the actor "to make home for the dead woman." A number of chiefs were forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, as Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jamie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

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After inconclusive discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nelsonhadmore, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

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"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

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Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

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and deciding how to divide it. Harry Schooner is neither dominant nor capable, and lady acted only as clerk, so the actual decision rested with Captain Schooner, Reuben, and George. Daniel Nelson would normally have played a prominent part, but he was absent owing to the illness of his infant daughter. Samuel King joined the group, bringing with him two coppers, two rifles, and a sum of money, and whispered the purpose of the contribution. 769 556* 769 556*

After the usual pause George Nelson and Captain Schooner, the latter substituting for the absent Dan Nelson, stood up and walked around the hall carrying three coppers and two rifles. Then they returned to their places. 583

Nidzochaitsimmer had been asked by Captain Schooner to act as announcer on account of his good voice and self-confidence. He joined the groups in the corner to call out whatever they whispered to him. First he stated that one of the coppers just displayed had been given to George Nelson to redeem from him his wife, Joe Williams' daughter. He explained that the other two, as well as the rifles, were presents from Samuel King, endorsed by his brother, Albert, and his sister, Mrs. Alexander Clallamore, to George Nelson in consequence of the latter's marriage to Samuel King's daughter. This arrangement having been instituted by the relatives of the girl, it was fitting that they should give the first presents. [537]

Captain Schooner had first planned to expend $200 to celebrate the return of his dead daughter. His wife gave him $20 for the purpose, and when Joe Williams returned $150, he decided to use only $100 of his savings, making $270 in all. To this Reuben added $80, Harry $40, and Dan Nelson $40, increasing the total to $430. George contributed what he had received from Joe Williams for the repurchase of the latter's daughter, as well as what Samuel King had just given him. Samuel added to the pile some money belonging to Jessie,* 769 556*

*The writer could not learn why this money had not been destroyed with her other possessions. The reason may have been that the Bella Coola knew that, though a potlatch was illegal, the goods of a dead person could be distributed and by doing this at a community they hoped for no interference from the law.

these various amounts making $884 when added to the previous $410.*

It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"$10 for so-and-so."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next above it, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. *Kaitat* names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used ancestral designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $10, a child, $1, or 50 cents. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $50 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the woman who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

*The exact sums contributed by Samuel King and George Nelson could not be learnt.

[illegible]

composed the name used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a provision for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pāxūtsa*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nuxpalit*. Reuben's son was called *alwaiis*, a *Swaiis-ai* designation connected with the crash when the first *Sanyᵉ* fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Tāl-ā-s* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

769 *536 583 425 [614] [622] ones being used for each name, and the hills were displayed before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on Captain Schooner the name, *Snaxaklalis*. This designation was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should not have been transmitted without the consent of all its members. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *wamlit* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 *536 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

768 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

one of the several causes which it is believed to has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in Nuxalk e by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,* is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but to a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in Nuxalk e. This belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how Alquntäm has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is mainly a matter of history. The only time that these two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial potlatch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

*It is accepted that men were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by anthropomorphic creatures presents no difficulties to Bella Coola thought.

and the person shifts his possession to the selection. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society.

It is said that, in former times, the Salmon-ceremonies held a commemorative rite on which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In spite, however, memorial songs were sung for dead Salmon, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch.

The Seven or Eighteen Dances

General observations about the dances

A detailed description of various Salmon dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit Nasqaleminis. Several Salmon have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thereafterwards there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every Salmon season.

The dance of Nēkēpsem[1]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe Nēkēpsem, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly

[1] Cf. Boas, p. 40.

2: 98:Dawson E-5 [1922-1924] 1948
BEA Bella Coola MSS

177 fashion. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
[181] have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
[181] presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[709] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
[769] forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
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winidzeme: Synonym for *Tsetsaut* guesser-game consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract.

Wiqit: Expert supernatural dancer, to his associates he is a *yaaling* amongst gun.

wiwey or wiwiyakmas: First complete dance given by a *hamat'sa*.

wonawid: Mammal, any kind.

Wuyomaneto: One of the names of Green Blue Heron as chief.

Wuxhlis: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.

2—One of the first men to settle at *Gwalsk* in the beginning of time.

Wuxlyaxw: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Wuxmeenuth: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Gitdaul* in the beginning of time.

wuhsiwa: *Hamat'sa* prerogative as a Beaver; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

wuhsiwa: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *hamat'sa* masks are hung.

wuwuxsil: The working end arm of hand rests for chicken.

Wuxsiyaxwsiwa: 1—"The Adviser"; One of the names of the supreme god.

2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; eventually, "The Sages."

wu'wuttsiwa: 1—Ceremony at which *wuwil* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers.

2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed.

wu'wuyiyi: Assemblage of the *hahamat'sa* to practise difficult steps.

Wu'yaxwa, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": Pejorative name given to a deserting wife.

Wuwuxhlis: One of the names of Raven as chief.

wuwuxhlisiwa: Sentence of death passed by the *hahamat'sa* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error.

wuxiyaxw: A loan, especially of an ancestral right.

Wuxlyaxw: Synonym for *Wuxlyaxw*, the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Wu'mas, "Inkumpinkle": Name taken by a woman in consequence of rights received from her husband's relatives.

wuxiyaxw: Toilet-hole.

wuxsiw: Birth.

Wuxtakqaw: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind.

wuxlal'as: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead.

wuxlal'as da'ameem: 1—High tide.

2—Long life.

wuxlyaxw: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold chicken-net pole steady while being driven.

Wu'yumaq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Wuxl: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.

2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Wuxlamlaxis: Synonym for *Setsaxlamk*, an immoral supernatural woman.

wuyit: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

wuxlamlaxsiwa: Any non-secret dance held at the conclusion of the *hamat'sa* season.

Wuhaw'as: An influential Kwakiutl chief.